

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 CU-04 BIB-01 HA-05 COME-00 ACDA-12 TRSE-00  
/096 W

-----101314 141409Z /43

R 141226Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8415  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
6AMCONSUL MUNICH 1978  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 1626

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, RO  
SUBJ: GOR REGISTERS DISAPPOINTMENT AND FRUSTRATION  
OVER MEAGRE RESULTS AT BELGRADE

1. UNSIGNED AND THUS AUTHORITATIVE EDITORIAL IN MARCH 11  
EDITION OF PARTY DAILY SCINTEIA, AFTER NOTING THAT FINAL  
DOCUMENT OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE REGISTERS SOME POINTS  
OF AGREEMENT, PROCEEDS THROUGH LIST OF UNREALIZED EX-  
PECTATIONS OF BELGRADE, STRESSING THE MILITARY, AND  
DESCRIBES UNFULFILLED MANDATE AS HAVING BEEN TO  
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"EXAMINE REALISTICALLY  
WHAT HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN TO APPLY THE PROVISIONS OF  
THE FINAL ACT, AS A UNIT, AND TO ADOPT NEW, CONCRETE  
MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN SECURITY AND COOPERATION."

2. IN AN ALMOST DISPARAGING VEIN, AUTHOR  
ACKNOWLEDGES MEAGRE POSITIVE RESULTS: AN EXCHANGE OF

VIEWS ON THE PROBLEMS WITH ALL PARTICIPATING STATES AFFIRMING, IN PRINCIPLE, THEIR DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN DETENTE, AND THEREBY DEMONSTRATING THAT IDEA OF EUROPEAN SECURITY HAD TAKEN STRONG ROOTS IN POPULAR CONSCIOUSNESS SO THAT NONE COULD NOW, PRONOUNCE HIMSELF OPPOSED TO IT. HE ALSO NOTES THAT PROVISION WAS MADE FOR ANOTHER MEETING AT MADRID IN 1980 AND FOR EXPERTS MEETINGS TO "EXAMINE SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS."

3. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUES: ASIDE FROM THESE ASPECTS, IT MUST BE SAID THAT RESULTS ARE "FEEBLE, UNSATISFACTORY AND WELL BELOW POPULAR EXPECTATIONS...FAR FROM A STEP FORWARD...IN FACT, AN OBVIOUS REGRESSION, GIVEN THE DECISIONS TAKEN AT HELSINKI. IN PLACE OF A POLITICAL DOCUMENT OF SUBSTANCE...A MINOR, LOOSE DOCUMENT WHICH, IN ESSENCE, DOES NOTHING EXCEPT REVEAL THE UNATTAINABILITY OF CONSENSUS ON THE MAJOR PROBLEMS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE... THIS NEGATIVE RESULT CAN BUT GRAVELY DISAPPOINT THE PEOPLE, WHO SEE THEIR HOPES DASHED."

4. EDITORIAL, IN EFFECT, ALIGNS ROMANIA WITH NNA'S: "RESULTS ALL THE MORE REGRETTABLE BECAUSE A GROUP OF STATES, ESPECIALLY THE MEDIUM-SIZED AND SMALL, THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED, MADE TENACIOUS EFFORTS...TO DEEPEN DETENTE, COOPERATION AND SECURITY...INCLUDING IN THIS CONTEXT THE TENACIOUS EFFORTS OF ROMANIA...FROM CONFIDENTIAL

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THE FIRST DAY TO THE LAST." IT GOES ON TO RECOUNT ROMANIA'S INITIATIVES AND ACKNOWLEDGE THOSE OF OTHERS WHICH, "UNFORTUNATELY, THE MEETING IGNORED." SHAPING THIS OUTCOME, IT STATES, IN A PASSAGE DISCLOSING UNHAPPINESS WITH THE WEST, "WERE THE TENDENCIES TO DISTORT THE PURPOSES OF THE CONFERENCE, TO AVOID ESSENTIAL PROBLEMS, TO DIRECT DISCUSSIONS TOWARD ANCILLARY SUBJECTS AND TOWARD DEBATES OF A PHILOSOPHICAL NATURE, PARTICULARLY OVER DIFFERING SOCIAL SYSTEMS, AND TO USE THE CONFERENCE TO TRY TO INTERFERE IN THE MODESTIC AFFAIRS OF SOME COUNTRIES." IT ALSO MALENTS LACK OF WILLINGNESS "TO CONSIDER THE VIEWPOINTS AND INTERESTS OF ALL THE PARTICIPATING STATES." AT WHAT APPEARS TO BE A SWIPE AT BOTH SUPER-POWERS, AUTHOR CLAIMS THAT "THERE STILL EXIST FORCES WHICH DESIRE AND TRY, NOT ONLY TO HINDER THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, BUT ALSO TO REVERSE IT."

5. IN SEEKING DPPER CAUSES, CONDITIONS THAT WOULD PERMIT SUCH A STATE OF AFFAIRS TO COME TO PASS, EDITORIAL

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-----101614 141408Z /43

R 141226Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8416  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 1626

CITES FAILURE TO MOBILIZE THE PEOPLE TO SPEAK  
UP STRONGLY TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL FOR DETENTE AND SECURITY.  
THERE RESULTED, IT STATES, A EUPHORIC ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH  
IT WAS FELT THAT DESIRES WOULD BE SELF-  
FULFILLING MERELY AS A RESULT OF EXISTENCE OF THE FINAL  
ACT OF HELSINKI. THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS, IT VOWS, FAR  
FROM RENDERING GOR AND ROMANIAN PEOPLE IMMOBILE AND PASSIVE,  
DETERMINES THEM TO INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS, ESPECIALLY  
"TO RESOLVE THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF WORK AND LIFE AND ED-  
UCATION AND CULTURE, TO ENSURE ACCESS OF ALL THE INHABI-  
TANTS OF THE CONTINENT TO THE BENEFITS OF CIVILIZATION...  
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TO ARRIVE AT PRACTICAL, CONCRETE MEASURES FOR MILITARY

DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT..."

6. AFTER EXPRESSING HOPE THAT OTHERS AS WELL WILL RECOGNIZE DISAPPOINTING RESULTS OF BELGRADE AS SIGNAL OF ALARM OF DANGERS REARING UP IN WAY OF DETENTE BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE, EDITORIAL LAUNCHES INTO A RATHER DESPERATE PLEA, OBVIOUSLY BORN OF FRUSTRATION, THAT DIPLOMACY BEHIND CLOSED DOORS (ANOTHER REFERENCE TO SUPER-POWER COLLUSION) BE ELIMINATED AND THAT PROBLEMS THAT INVOLVE DESTINIES OF PEOPLES BE BROUGHT BEFORE PUBLIC OPINION, FOR THE PEOPLE MUST BE HELPED TO SEE CLEARLY, TO CULTIVATE VIGILANCE AND OPPOSITION TO FORCES THAT WOULD HINDER DETENTE. WITHOUT A MOBILIZATION OF THE PEOPLE, EDITORIAL CONCLUDES, THERE WILL BE NO PROGRESS IN REALIZING SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THW WORLD: TODAY MORE THAN EVER, SITUATION CALLS FOR POPULAR MOBILIZATION IN NAME OF THIS VITAL OBJECTIVE AND, TO THIS END, ROMANIAN PARTY AND PEOPLE REAFFIRM THAT THEY WILL SPARE NO EFFORT.

7. CNMMENT: IRONY IS, OF COURSE, THAT FAR FROM BRINGING BEFORE ITS OWN PUBLIC FULL RANGE OF ISSUES AS DISCUSSED AT BELGRADE, GOR MEDIA LAPSED INTO ALMOST TOTAL SILENCE AFTER MOST CRYPTIC MENTION OF A FEW OPENING STATEMENTS, EXCEPT FOR OCCASIONAL MENTION OF GOR INITIATIVES TOWARD END OF THE CONFERENCE, IN CONTEXTS THAT BORE ONLY VAGUEST RESEMBLANCE TO USDEL'S DAILY SITREPS. LANGUAGE OF THIS EDITORIAL IS UNUSUALLY STRONG FOR DOMESTIC STATEMENTS OF GOR VIEWS, AND IT IS A TRUE MEASURE OF GOR'S BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT AND FRUSTRATION AND REGISTERS A SENSE OF HELPLESSNESS ABOUT HOW TO PROCEED FROM HERE ON A WHOLE MATRIX OF ISSUES IT CONSIDERS VITAL TO ITS SECURITY.

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## Message Attributes

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